

Greater St. Louis Committee  
for  
Freedom of Residence

PROPOSAL FOR  
FAIR HOUSING  
and  
RACIAL RECONCILIATION

## CONDENSED STATEMENT OF FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE PROPOSAL

The Greater St. Louis Committee for Freedom of Residence proposes to expand its staffed operation to utilize the expressed willingness of hundreds of individuals and a dozen affiliated local fair housing groups who have offered their assistance in ending patterns of racial segregation in housing. Our program includes education, direct services to match buyers and sellers, stabilization programs, legal assistance, community improvement and reconciliation for individuals and for communities. At the heart of all our programs is the concept that good integrated neighborhoods cannot be shipped in from outside; they must be worked for daily by the people, white and black who live in them, know their problems, and have a vested interest in their survival.

We hope to launch our expanded program immediately so that it will be completely operative as the new federal fair housing law takes effect, in order to make the law a meaningful constructive tool, rather than a device which merely changes the problem. It has now been almost 15 years since desegregation of schools was ordered by law, but racial balance in schools is no nearer than it was at the time the law was passed. With the dynamic thrust our program offers, we foresee a phasing out of the need for our program within 15 years time, or certainly a change in its direction. We propose that the program we have outlined be funded at \$228,000 annually for the next three years, with an option to renew at the time based on the experience and innovation of the three year's work.

## THE PROBLEM

Racially segregated housing choice opportunities operating formally through law and informally through practice, have restricted Negro residents of the greater St. Louis area to living in a huge expanding ghetto in the inner city and to numerous "pocket" ghettos in city and county areas. This artificial color barrier has created a housing scarcity for Negroes which eliminates free competition in the real estate market and drives ghetto housing prices from 20 to 80 per cent above costs for comparable housing outside the ghetto. Housing quality in ghettos frequently goes down because overcrowding taxes the facilities of homes, schools and neighborhoods. Municipal services, such as streets, sanitation, police, and schools have been permitted to deteriorate in these ghetto areas, partially because of deliberate racism, but partially because the Negro citizens, thus geographically restricted, become invisible to the white community. With the deterioration of these ghetto areas, business moves out, making physical access of job opportunities more difficult for Negroes. Not surprisingly, these tight patterns of racial segregation have given rise to increasing alienation of black and white citizens. The critical conditions of housing shortage have sparked much of the black fury that threatens our cities.

With every neighborhood that has "changed" from white to black another school "changes," too, eliminating opportunities for a lessening of racial alienation in the next generation. White racism, a considerable factor in segregated housing patterns, is strengthened for another generation when children of different races are denied opportunities to know each other as playmates. Along with the dark forces of traditional race hatred, the myth that property values fall when Negroes move into a neighborhood helps perpetuate segregated housing patterns. Many white persons fear their social status will decline if it becomes known that they live in an intergrated community.

The schism into two separate communities, one black, one white, is fostered around the fringes of both large and small ghetto areas by several attitudes. First of all, white officials are reluctant to admit that these ghettos exist in proximity to their own homes. These officials seem to feel that to acknowledge existence of the black community will be to indicate willingness to accept more black neighbors. Indeed, some elected officials in suburban St. Louis have excused their city's hostility toward Negro residents by saying, "If we are too nice to them, they will all come right here, and we don't want more than our share." "Our share" is never defined.

Hostility becomes a mechanism to discourage integrated community patterns. Cities, schools, business, churches and neighborhoods quietly exclude Negroes (whether those living in nearby ghettos, or those who have moved into previously all-white neighborhoods) from the services which they offer, or by offering only partial services to Negro citizens. In this way youngsters are not really "denied" access to scout troops; they are merely not invited to participate; Negroes are not told that they may not participate in local government, but they are not appointed to committees and boards which traditionally provide entrance to municipal politics. Although black children attend predominantly white schools, no encouragement is offered for them to participate in pep clubs, plays, bands, and other extra-curricular activities. Frequently the school is some distance from their ghetto home, so a simple lack of public and school transportation is all that is needed to keep these activities segregated. The total effect of these policies of "quiet" segregation is to eliminate the meaningful communication between different ethnic groups and to foster the pattern of "two communities, separate and unequal." They shield white people from Negroes, and in doing so they keep members of both races unknown to each other, and therefore keep them in fear of each other. The alienation grows and spreads and the ghetto grows and spreads with it. In communities where black and white neighbors know each other panic selling declines.

Sometimes the barriers between white and black communities are actually visible structural barriers. A blockade was recently removed from a street linking Kinloch (an all Negro municipality) to its white neighbor, Ferguson. The blockade came down only after months of negotiating, a demonstration parade, and courageous action on the part of a retiring Ferguson mayor. Another Kinloch "neighbor", Berkeley does not maintain the street which forms the Kinloch-Berkeley boundary. One of the best financed cities in St. Louis county, Berkeley says that Kinloch can't afford to maintain its half properly, so Berkeley won't carry its share either. The result is a rutted dangerous road, more like a ditch than a thoroughfare. But the Kinloch ghetto has spread across the barrier, and "threatens" the surrounding neighborhoods. In creating barriers, communities foster the fear which encourages white residents to flee.

In the midst of all these separating influences there are literally thousands of persons white and black, of good will who would like to work toward better community patterns and toward eliminating the causes of racism and alienation. Most don't know how. Many white persons feel unwelcome in militant civil rights groups, or are reluctant to leave their own communities to participate. Artificial programs set up by some churches and organizations to encourage dialogue between Negro and White are enthusiastically received, but falter when it becomes obvious they offer no channels for dynamic solutions. In both the white and the black community there is considerable reluctance to "stand alone," to be a "pioneer." Even those

who have the courage to lead frequently don't know where or how to lead, nor how to contact other individuals who share their concern. So for a lack of impetus the forces for good in our communities are stalled. Freedom of Residence and the local groups have the names of nearly 2,000 families who have expressed interest in working for fair housing. Because of staff limitations only a handful of these volunteers are being utilized fully. Perhaps this is the most tragic aspect of fair housing in this area.

Crucial to the whole question of fair housing is the aspect which has come to be known as "neighborhood stabilization." Too often the first Negro family in a neighborhood is "welcomed" with a flurry of "For Sale" signs and the only glimpse he gets of his neighbors is that of their departing backs as they move "while they still can." Historically this pattern has been encouraged by fly-by-night real estate companies which found a gold mine in the panic of white home-owners. "Panic-peddling is the process by which real estate manipulators convince residents of a neighborhood that since they have Negro neighbors, their homes will soon become worthless. Commissions for salesmen and high profits for brokers who buy low from a panic-stricken white and sell high to the Negro desperate for decent housing has been the reward for this scurrilous practice. Negroes speak cynically of their high housing costs as "paying the color tax."

Beckoning to the white who would flee from integrated neighborhoods are the white "sanctuaries," communities which have been "restricted" by a variety of means. Stabilization will be a much simpler job for communities when there are no neighborhoods that do not have Negro residents.

Frequently real estate companies and salesmen do not deliberately encourage ghetto spread, but in their failure to offer positive approaches to integrated housing the total effect is the same. To deal in homes for Negroes only in Negro areas, and to show homes to white families only in non-integrated areas is the course of least resistance, but even Mr. Gene Thornehill, president of the St. Louis Real Estate Board, admits that his own salesmen are inclined to follow this practice, and are free to do so.

The Negro also contributes to problems of neighborhood stabilization. Not surprisingly, the Negro family frequently prefers to buy or rent a home in an area where it seems there will be no question of their "belonging," although the best housing value may be available in an area where the family would "pioneer" as the first black family in the community. Many Negro families are reluctant to insist on being shown houses in all white areas, and few present themselves as potential buyers to builders of new sub-divisions outside ghetto areas. White real estate salesmen have been quick to exploit the

tendency of persons to buy homes near their friends. Salesman Mac Hunt made a tour of all the Negro homes in a four block area of a county subdivision to ask if they might have friends or relatives who would be prospective buyers for a home he was attempting to sell in their integrated neighborhood. He did not bother to call on white families for possible referrals and, of course, the home ultimately sold to a Negro family. In this fashion, great pressures are brought to bear on an integrated neighborhood to become a "changing" neighborhood.

As community changes accelerate, white residents who perhaps were willing to accept a sprinkling of Negro neighbors react to the fear of "inundation". Comments of "one Negro family is okay, but I don't want mine to be the only white family in the whole block" are heard. It is at this point that panic is most likely to take over a neighborhood, and this is the time when the unscrupulous real estate companies find owners susceptible to the urging, "Sell now while you still can." They do not bother to inform the would-be seller that even when panic pushes prices down on homes in integrated neighborhoods, prices rise again when the panic subsides, whether the area stays integrated or becomes all Negro.

There is some real factual basis for concern that deterioration may occur in a neighborhood that changes from White to Negro. The historical pattern is that predominantly white-controlled governing institutions "write off" Negro areas and expect them to become slums. Schools are permitted to decline and city services are no longer offered with the same enthusiasm that prevailed when the area was occupied by whites. Frequently building codes and ordinances governing over-crowding of homes are no longer enforced and the decline in value (though not necessarily in prices) results.

Even personnel offices of large companies frequently have a hand in causing integrated neighborhoods to become all black. In recruiting personnel many companies offer assistance in locating housing. Many companies keep two lists--one for white and one for black--employees. Integrated neighborhoods and apartments have been included only on the listings offered to Negro employees. Some companies give all employees the same listings, but a "helpful" housing assistant marks the addresses which are believed to be particularly interesting to the individual. The Negro employee finds all the addresses marked on his list are in ghetto or integrated areas, despite the fact that many of them are miles away from his job or from access to practical transportation accommodations.

Difference in economic facts of life for Negro and White families can cause friction in integrated neighborhoods which

give rise to more white flight. A national study shows that in 70 percent of Negro families with incomes in excess of \$10,000 per year the mother is employed outside the home. The high incidence of working mothers in Negro families means that many black children are left without adult supervision when schools are not in session. These "door key" children become highly visible and frequently annoying reminders of the different social situations and values of White and Negro neighbors. They bring social prejudice into the picture to enforce or add to racial prejudice, and add another dimension to the pressures on an integrated neighborhood.

Throughout any statement of the problem of fair housing, references inevitably are made to the real estate industry which is really the heart of the problem. Our most basic need to implement fair housing is to create a situation in which the real estate industry can--in fact MUST --operate on a truly free enterprise basis. In this context the professionals most involved in housing patterns would become blind to all color except the green of the money proffered by potential buyers.

Almost everyone who has worked in the fair housing field has concluded that the real estate industry has operated to perpetuate segregated housing because its members were convinced (with considerable justification) that this was the best method by which they could show business profits. We have already discussed the practice of "panic peddling," the most vicious form of profit making on housing segregation. New fair housing laws and a greater sophistication on the part of the public tend to make these blatant methods less prevalent than they once were, but there are many other pressures on the real estate industry, more subtle but equally effective.

Many white realtors have declared that they would be delighted to sell homes on a fair market policy, but that their business would suffer if it became generally known that they were involved in such action. Indeed, one of St. Louis' largest companies for some time has shown homes to any buyer who asked to look at any listing. However, if a Negro buyer wants to purchase the home in an all white area, the company withdraws from the contract and refuses to take part in the transaction. The Negro buyer can purchase the home directly from the white seller if they are both willing, but the company refuses to be a party to the sale. A number of salesmen for this company have expressed moral and financial conviction that integrated housing is desirable, but they feel that even the existence of fair housing laws will not make it a reality because of the economic pressures exerted by a prejudiced public.

White realtors are not by themselves deliberately and

unconsciously perpetuating segregated housing. The black realtist, shut out of the formal real estate organizations and the informal contacts through which business cooperation frequently comes about, has played his own role in expanding the ghetto. Knowing that he is likely to get housing listings only from fellow blacks, the Negro realtist fears for the day when more affluent Negroes will be able to buy housing in traditionally white neighborhoods from owners who will almost certainly give their listings to white realtors. The realtists also know that it will be difficult for them to expand their customer contacts to whites. Without working contacts with white realtors the black realtist cannot even look forward to profit and list sharing in the integrated housing market. Although the St. Louis real estate board has recently accepted one Negro real estate man into its ranks, the realtist knows it is unlikely that really menaingful integration of the industry is likely for many years.

Financing is also an important influence on the real estate industry. Negro realtists declare that there is simply a tremendous shortage of capital available to the Negro housing buyer, a fact attributed to both racial and social problems. Some financial institutions are more rigid in their appraisal of Negro borrowers than in other cases. In those financial institutions which do not discriminate because of race, there is an unawareness of different patterns of stability and financial capability in black and white housing buyers.

With a history of legally required housing segregation until 20 years ago, government agencies are frequently guilty of perpetuating separate housing patterns. Besides actual violation of the laws they are designed to administer, many federal, state and local housing agencies are lax in instituting positive programs designed to bring about integrated housing. Only the strongest of pressure has brought any positive response from these institutions (civilian and military) in the St. Louis area. With this enforcement from the financial and governmental sectors, it is small wonder that the real estate industry has not developed a positive program for integration, since its sole reason for being is to earn a profit from its services. In the most vicious tradition of profit at any cost some firms have exploited the public's fears by denouncing the salesmen and the companies which have tried to promote fair housing. These individuals and firms have turned to Freedom of Residence for help, but our resources and staff have been pitifully small to react meaningfully to the magnitude of the problem.

To sum up the problem of fair housing in the St. Louis area, we see the following issues:



1. Free enterprise is not operating freely in the housing industry.
2. The ghetto is overcrowded and constantly expanding, perpetuating "two separate communities, one white one black."
3. The integrated community, although not unique is still an exception.
4. Neighborhoods are "changing" instead of remaining stable and integrated.
5. A vast reservoir of good will among middle class white suburbanites and city dwellers (whose names are on our membership rolls) exists but cannot be utilized because of a lack of Freedom of Residence staff and financial resources.

## PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

Experience has taught Freedom of Residence that the greatest good for our total community comes from absolutely free access to housing for all groups. In making housing outside the ghetto available to those families which can afford to move, the overcrowding of the ghetto is relieved, hence the terrible pressures which have created explosive situations in the nations's cities are eased. However, there is an even more direct benefit to the white community from fair housing. Almost every area in St. Louis city and county feels threatened by a spreading ghetto, which folklore says will diminish property values when it comes too close. Constantly fleeing in their fear of "inundation," white home owners pay dearly for the promise of "white havens" which do not really exist. Only the known and visible effect of Negro families owning and renting homes in virtually every part of the metropolitan area will stabilize our communities, both black and white.

Freedom of Residence, recognizing its first responsibility is to help the black family to live in the home of its choice, also feels a very real commitment to reconciling and stabilizing the entire community. Our staff and financial resources in the past have limited our operation severely so that we were obligated to concentrate on only the most basic of programs. However, with the advent of the federal fair housing law, we feel it is imperative that we mobilize our existing and potential resources to bring about the understanding and good will that are necessary to create a climate of acceptance. Only in such a situation can fair housing flourish. We, have, therefore, suggested a program of direct services, education, reconciliation, and stabilization.

For eight years, the Greater St. Louis Committee for Freedom of Residence has kept listings of private homes and of apartments for sale or rent on the open market. Negro families asking for our service were referred to these owners. Virtually all of the housing listings have been obtained by our fair housing volunteers and the service has been handicapped by lack of staff direction. We propose to expand this service, both on the basis of paid staff and of volunteer operation. Under the federal fair housing law persons wishing to sell their homes without professional assistance may discriminate, but we know that there are many persons who will want to be sure that their home or rental property is available to Negro families whether or not they are employing a real estate agent. In our unique position, we can advise the Negro purchaser and the white seller of problems they may face in such an arrangement.

Since most newly-built homes are offered for sale by subdivision developers, Freedom of Residence must keep informed of this area. A large amount of new home building is located outside the central city area where most Negroes live, and they are unaware of its existence and location. This accounts for the phenomena of Negro housing patterns following main thoroughfares leading out of the ghetto. By calling the attention of the Negro community to the wide selection of homes available on the periphery of the urban area, Freedom of Residence can help families locate near jobs, schools, and services which they desire.

In rental housing, landlords have set up subtle patterns of discrimination to prevent Negro occupancy in developments whether or not they were covered by fair housing laws. Prospective Negro tenants frequently are quoted prices far exceeding those listed for whites; leasing terms are prohibitive; deposits are excessive; and "luxury" accommodations, such as carpeting and air conditioning are listed at additional prices. Because of these practices it is important that a constant vigilance be maintained to inform the prospective renter what a fair price and leasing terms for a particular development may be. Continuing check on availability of rental housing is also needed since prospective Negro tenants frequently find that "That apartment has just been rented" in the space of five minutes between the time he called to inquire and the time it took him to get there to sign a lease. Our direct services in rental will include complete listings of all apartments in the area.

With the federal fair housing law scheduled to go into effect January 1, 1969, our checker-escort of housing assistance will assume new importance. Under this program, the Negro tenant is accompanied on his housing search by Freedom of Residence staff and/or volunteers. On occasion the white checker visits a home or apartment to determine availability, price, etc., and is joined shortly by the Negro buyer or renter to insure that evasive tactics of discrimination will not be used. Procedures in the past, except where fair housing laws were in operation, were limited to methods of mediation, conciliation, and on some occasions, picketing to urge the owner to rent or sell to Negroes. Since legal recourse will now be available, we propose to extend our services to assistance in filing complaints, a procedure with which we have had considerable experience in St. Louis city. For two years after the city fair housing law went into effect, only those complaints filed by Freedom of Residence were ever processed. We will offer assistance in filing complaints, and where necessary, will follow through with actual legal assistance.

In conjunction with these direct services, we propose to conduct simultaneous programs of reconciliation between white and black neighbors, tailoring each activity to the need of the group and/or areas specifically involved. Perhaps the most essential function of our organization in this area is to revitalize and bolster the 12 local fair housing groups already organized and operating in cooperation with our organization. With an enlarged staff and a coordinator of local fair housing groups, we will organize similar groups in autonomous communities throughout the city and county. The names of individuals willing and able to form the nucleus of dozens of these groups are already in our files as members of the Greater St. Louis Committee for Freedom of Residence. Their only need is the impetus and organization which must come from staff persons.

These groups will assist in the location of housing available to Negroes in all white areas, will aid our organization in attracting white families of good will to areas already integrated, and will be the key to our whole program approach in each community. Since these are people who live in the communities we will share experiences and knowledge with them for true "grass roots" support of integrated communities. These are the people who will welcome new families (white or black) to their neighborhoods and help them feel at home. They provide the "antenna" for us to act and react in each area, and can be invaluable in rumor checking, stabilization, etc. Through these neighborhood groups we can help to open channels of communication between neighbors-black and white-and thus allay the fears that are detrimental to all.

Realizing that the fears and questions which are never publicly discussed are the most terrifying, we will sponsor public meetings on fair housing and integration of communities. These meetings will be designed to bring facts to those who attend, permit them to ask questions and air their misgivings, and to mobilize community support. Through these public meetings we can begin to make the public aware that panic can drive property values downward, but the mere color of the occupants of homes does not.

A very broad and imaginatively conceived program of education is also indicated to assist in reconciliation. In combatting the myth that property values automatically decline when Negroes live in an area, we would like to oversee a local research program on comparisons of property values in stable integrated communities, panic-stricken neighborhoods, in all-black areas. The study should also include a socio-economic comparison of the white people who have occupied housing in given areas with the status of Negroes who are beginning

to move into the area. Such research done elsewhere, and informally by our own office, indicate that these statistics would be most reassuring and most effective in combatting neighborhood panic and prejudice. Results of the study will be published and widely circulated. This study would also help further programming for our group.

Further reconciliation programs should be instituted creatively by the Freedom of Residence staff in cooperation with local groups and with individual volunteers. Our staff would inform itself of the many governmental and private programs designed to help integrated schools and communities maintain and upgrade their conditions. These programs serve the "magnet" theory of stabilization in that they create communities that attract and keep desirable residents of all racial and ethnic groups. A similar staff function will be to encourage and advise local groups on participation in school and community betterment programs.

We will hire staff capable of dealing creatively with any situations that arise through the new experience of neighborhood integration. An example of programs that might be instigated would be assisting local groups in setting up day nurseries and after school recreation programs for the "door-key children" mentioned earlier as a source of annoyance in communities where many mothers work.

To help the real estate industry come to full and willing acceptance of fair housing as a practical and profitable business practice, Freedom of Residence must initiate a number of highly skillful operations. Workshops, perhaps even short study courses for real estate salesmen, should be set up to emphasize positive methods of "selling" an integrated neighborhood. Good use can be made in these workshops of the results of local research on property values and race.

We must also open the channels of communication between black and white segments of the real estate industry, a function we have been able to serve on a modest basis in the past. By bringing the black realtist and the white realtor together we can help them to begin sharing listings, buyers and profits. We should also like to urge the hiring of Negro salesmen by white companies--and vice versa--to serve all customers. In this field of business which has been most tightly segregated very few white and black members of the real estate profession have met on an equal basis, and this has served to perpetuate misunderstandings.

Past experience tells us, though, that we cannot rely on good will and education to do a complete job in opening

the minds and hearts of the real estate industry. To protect the ethical and courageous realtor who is willing to cooperate fully and fairly, we must fill our traditional "watchdog" role on those companies which choose to discriminate by whatever means they can find. The checker-escort system will help to inform us as to what companies may not be obeying the law. Mediation, conciliation, community pressure, and personal encouragement from local groups will be used whenever possible to augment a program of complaint assistance and legal services to see that all companies are fulfilling their duty to their community.

Before we can claim success in bringing integrated housing to St. Louis, we must be able to show that neighborhood stability is not incompatible with integration. Although we are convinced that wide dispersion of minority population is the only basic answer to the problem of expanding ghettos, we feel that in the transition from segregated to integrated housing patterns specific work in neighborhood stabilization is necessary. There are abundant examples to prove that quota systems, "gentlemen's agreements," and other negative approaches to stabilization do not work, so we feel that the only effective method of dealing with the problem is in the framework of Freedom of Residence, a concept of totally free and open communities. We must concentrate on showing the white community that there are very real values in living in integrated communities, beyond the somewhat intrinsic values of brotherhood and human values. We must point out to the total community that fair housing is the basic solution to problems of education, unemployment and alienation that threaten our cities. But we must also appeal to the selfish interests of each family that buys or rents a home. We have already heard home buyers say "I bought a home in a neighborhood that was already integrated because it is going to happen everywhere, and this community has already accepted it without any trouble." Although a somewhat negative approach it is practical.

Another practical method of stabilization is the "magnet" theory previously mentioned. When properly administered the "magnet" approach is an exciting and dynamic challenge to communities to make themselves so attractive that their residents move out with reluctance and only when it is absolutely necessary to do so. Freedom of Residence hopes to become a clearing house and point of origin for ideas designed to help communities which choose the magnet theory as an answer to threats of panic selling. In this field our local fair housing groups can originate and sponsor programs or help the existing community agencies to put them into effect.

Publicizing the number of neighborhoods that are integrated in the Greater St. Louis area is also a stabilization technique we have used effectively. With a larger program we will keep maps up to date and accurate so that the process of integration can be noted and announced to reassure newly integrated communities. This also serves to debunk the "white haven" myth, so that people will not find themselves moving to avoid Negro neighbors, only to find they have an integrated neighborhood in their new location. It further encourages the Negro family to choose housing on the basis of personal need and desire rather than on the basis of "What housing is open to me?"

Coordination of the local groups can help to inform the community of unethical real estate practices and of companies that are actually operating on a fair and legal basis. With this information communities can protect themselves by encouraging housing listings with those firms which are dealing fairly and by bringing economic and social pressure to bear on those companies which would promote panic for profit.

Our legal services would include advice to municipalities on zoning, standard housing code enforcement, etc. We have served in the past to put community organizations in touch with law students and professors who were willing to draw up model ordinances which would assure that protective measures would serve the interest of the total community, but would not be used to exclude new residents, that is Negroes. We would continue this function, utilizing both staff and volunteer legal services.

We would enlarge our program of direct housing services for white families who choose to live in the stimulating atmosphere of an integrated community. Involving, staff, volunteers and local groups, we would aim our program toward the total community, with specific concentration on particularly fruitful areas. In this program we would make available information on integrated communities and housing listings to the personnel recruitment offices of large companies (specifying of course that the listings be made available to all their employees, regardless of race); and to government and military housing offices. We would also concentrate on contacts with school and college faculties, churches, and specific areas and organizations where persons kindly disposed toward integrated communities are likely to be found. One example would be Laclede Town, where interracial housing has been very successful on a rental basis, and where the youthful and highly mobile population in many cases moves after purchase of a home of their own.

## RESOURCES OF FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE

The most unique resources of the Greater St. Louis Committee for Freedom of Residence is its far-reaching acceptance by white suburbanites in the area. Without sacrificing its credibility as a militant civil rights organization, Freedom of Residence has attracted literally hundreds of white suburbanites to its membership rolls. In fact, from these individuals Freedom of Residence has received the greater part of its financial support, mostly in \$5 and \$10 membership and gift contributions. A majority of persons who have made financial contributions are willing to perform volunteer services in a variety of capacities. Freedom of Residence now finds itself in the frustrating position of having more volunteers than its limited staff can train and utilize fully. Many of these individuals feel that no other organization in the St. Louis area can offer them a comparable opportunity for meaningful services in bridging the gulf between black and white, city and suburbs, rich and poor. These are the people who have, and will continue, to find homes for sale or rent on the fair housing market in their own neighborhoods, and who will offer the day-to-day support for integrated living that is essential to opening the housing market and to stabilizing communities. Theirs is not an "arm's length" commitment; they want and will work for daily contact in their own neighborhood with members of other ethnic groups.

Completely organized and administered in and for the Greater St. Louis Community, Freedom of Residence creates and adapts all of its programs for local situations. Its 40 board members come from all parts of the city and county, with each of the 12 loosely affiliated local fair housing groups represented by a board member. It is the function of this board to hire staff, to determine policy, to find and report fair housing problems, and to help in creating programs to work toward solution of the problems.

The 12 local fair housing groups in the area have been organized with the assistance of the Greater St. Louis Committee for Freedom of Residence, and each works with problems unique to its own area and to the interest of its members. Membership in the groups range from 50 to 300 persons. Freedom of Residence staff people and volunteers also maintain contact with other interested persons throughout the county and city where organized groups do not exist. From names of individuals, churches and organizations already in our files it would be possible to launch new local fair



housing groups in dozens of communities if staff and office resources were available.

Wide community acceptance for Freedom of Residence has been demonstrated by the willingness of established community structures to cooperate with the organization. Many churches have given special forms of assistance through community action programs. Dozens of religious groups have circulated Freedom of Residence fair housing pledge cards, accompanied with a recommendation from the pulpit that members sign the endorsement for fair housing.

Organizations frequently ask for speakers from our organization, and the public media has developed the habit of referring all questions concerning fair housing to the Freedom of Residence staff, recognizing them as the only experienced specialists in the area. The St. Louis Post Dispatch has recognized the ability and importance of the organization, and given it strong support both in its news and editorial columns. The St. Louis Globe-Democrat has also been helpful in news and editorial coverage, as have numerous other smaller newspapers in both black and white communities. Radio and TV stations throughout the area have also been generous in offering free time to our spokesmen.

Several local universities have cooperated with Freedom of Residence by permitting students to perform Freedom of Residence work for laboratory and class programs. Other cooperative programs with the universities have been offered to our organization if we can hire staff persons qualified to administer combined teaching-work experience programs. Washington University cooperated with Freedom of Residence in sponsoring a Fair Housing Workshop attended by 2,500 people. George Warren Brown School of Social Work published the papers presented at the Workshop and distributed 1,000 copies.

During its eight years of existence Freedom of Residence has developed respect and working cooperation with organizations ranging from black militant to conservative. Both staff persons and volunteers interact and participate in such groups as A.C.T.I.O.N., United Black Front, A.F.L.-C.I.O. unions, and the National Association of Manufacturers. Both major political parties are well represented in our membership.

Even the Negro realtists, a group which might feel threatened by the actuality of minority populations moving from the ghetto, have seen the validity of the Freedom of Residence board and offer practical technical advice

in real estate matters. Staff members are careful to inform themselves of the very strict segregation forced upon the Negro businessman in real estate, and to make concerted efforts to protect his interest in the total framework of Freedom of Residence. Financial and technical assistance have also been given by white realtors.

Forty-five organizations joined Freedom of Residence in sponsoring a "Town Hall" meeting on fair housing in 1966. These included civil rights groups, religious organizations, fraternities, neighborhood improvement groups, social agencies, political and labor organizations. Purpose of the meeting was to call the attention of the St. Louis city government to the failure of the city's fair housing law to provide real fair housing opportunity. As a result of the event, the mayor appointed a special housing committee, chaired by Dr. John Ervin, a member of our board, to study the problem. In 1967 the report of Dr. Ervin's committee was responsible for a number of changes in city policy and the enlargement of the St. Louis Human Relations Council staff operation.

In 1968, Freedom of Residence combined educational and fund raising functions, raising about \$9,000 from sponsorship of the play, "In White America." A series of historical readings, "In White America," brought to its audiences a new awareness of the historical pressures that exploded in our cities in recent years.

Although chiefly concerned with local matters, the Greater St. Louis Committee for Freedom of Residence has had an impact on housing programs and policies of the federal government. A past president of Freedom of Residence has carried a discrimination in housing case all the way to the Supreme Court. His contact with the family whom he represented came through the Freedom of Residence organization.

In cooperation with the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, the St. Louis Freedom of Residence staff and board played a major role in building fair housing provisions into the national Model Cities program.

As a tax-exempt organization, Freedom of Residence cannot participate in lobbying. However, our files are a source of information utilized by the Missouri Human Relations Commission and legislators on a local, state and national level. The local fair housing groups do not

enjoy a tax-exempt status, and are therefore permitted to attempt to bring about legislative measures for fair housing. Members of the local groups have entered into this function enthusiastically, and their widely spread and numerous membership makes them ideally suited to such a program. Some of the local groups are affiliated with the Missouri Coordinating Committee for Fair Housing.

Among the specific human talents available to Freedom of Residence are volunteers with highly developed expertise in many fields. For example, we have been promised advice and assistance from a successful professional fund raiser for a large private university, if we can hire a full time director of development and public relations to pursue a program which he would outline. Other free services available to us, if we can become staffed to make use of them, include legal assistance, sociological advice, education, public speaking, checking availability of housing, escorting hopeful buyers and renters, routine office work, art, writing, fact-finding, negotiating, and public relations. For every hour of paid staff time available to our organization, we can match it with at least six hours of volunteer services.

PROPOSED ANNUAL BUDGET

GREATER ST. LOUIS COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE

Director	\$12,000.00
Local Coordinator	10,000.00
Community Stabilization Specialist	10,000.00
Attorney	10,000.00
Community Agency Specialist	10,000.00
Director of Development and Public Relations	10,000.00
Housing Aides (4 at \$8,000.00 each)	32,000.00
1 Negro Rental (City)	
1 Negro Rental (County)	
1 Negro purchase housing	
1 White stabilization housing	
Complaint Officers (2 at \$8,000.00 each)	16,000.00
Legal Services	8,000.00
Secretary, office manager	7,000.00
Secretary, bookkeeper	6,000.00
General Secretaries (5 at \$5,000.00 each)	25,000.00
Receptionist, clerk	4,000.00
Social Security, hospitalization	15,200.00
Office, overhead expenses (40% of personnel)	60,800.00
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TOTAL	\$236,000.00